Tells the Facts and Names the Names

CounterPunch

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IN THIS ISSUE

Looking For Mr. Good Guy: A Pooch In Big Oil's Mad Dog Pack?

- Kings of Third World plunder: Shell and Texaco
- Titans of domestic rape-and-pillage: Exxon and ARCO
- Beacons of race and gender sensitivity: Sunoco and Amoco

The Economic Heirs of Dr. Pangloss

- Class conflict and the business cycle: The real cause of unemployment
- SOS on the Sea of Tranquility: rising tide sinks many ships

Zapatistas: Latest Foe in "War on Drugs"

- Cocaine crackdown used as cover to step up flow of US military aid
- "Destinies that are indissolubly linked": the Pentagon's soft spot for Mexico

Plus:

- Tipper's guide to dirty music

Your Buck Stops Where?

What AAA Doesn't Tell You

You're driving along the interstate and you have to pull off some time in the next twenty miles for gas. Each exit advertises a couple of oil companies. You ask yourself, is there one just marginally less vicious than the others? Here's a **CounterPunch** advisory.

Exxon is the biggest and one of the foulest, its lineage stretching directly back to the old bandit, John D. Rockefeller. He spawned Exxon, formerly Standard Oil of New Jersey; Chevron, formerly Standard Oil of California; Mobil, formerly Standard Oil of New York; and Amoco, formerly Standard Oil of Indiana. Standard Oil of New Jersey was the core of the Rockefeller oil empire.

Exxon is the world's largest oil company and the second largest company in the world, after General Motors, with more than $150 billion in annual sales. In the treatment of the environment, its workers and customers, Exxon operates as if immune from any regulatory constraint. Most notoriously, its tanker the Exxon Valdez discharged 11 million gallons of crude oil into Prince William Sound after running aground on Bligh Reef in 1989. Perhaps the company's most brazen effrontery in that affair was its attempt to manipulate a federal jury to avoid paying $5 billion in punitive damages to Alaska's fishing industry.

Exxon's air pollution record from its refineries is the worst in the business, with thousands of citations. Moreover, it refuses to disclose the toxic chemicals used at its refineries outside the US, and at many sites inside the country. Exxon has repeatedly falsified advertising claims on its high octane fuels and in 1992 was convicted of defrauding the Defense Department when it falsified records in order to help its oil additives qualify for military contracts. Exxon agreed to pay $3.8 million in fines.

Exxon is making huge investments in developing nations. One particularly ugly project is in eastern Venezuela, where Exxon has joined with PDVSA, the Venezuela national oil company, to develop a $3 billion natural gas reserve deep in the rainforest. Drive on.

Here's the Texaco sign. In the last **CounterPunch** we described the company's covert shipments to Mussolini and Hitler. Texaco's attitude to its minority employees recently forced the company to settle a class action suit for a record $176 million. The company is deeply involved in Indonesia and Siberia and was one of the big cheerleaders of the Gulf War because 60 per cent of its refinery output depended on Saudi and Kuwaiti crude oil. And a few years ago Texaco, was breaching an international embargo and supplying military thugs in Haiti.

Texaco's enormous 1969 oil spill in the Santa Barbara channel off the California coastline did have the incidental effects of suspending new leasing and explorations off the California coast and of prompting congressional investigations of the entire oil industry.

Texaco is now merging its US refining and sales with Shell, the US subsidiary of Royal Dutch/Shell Group, the world's second largest oil company. The most recent blot on Shell's copybook was its successful urging of the Nigerian government to silence Ken Saro-Wiwa, who was inconveniencing Shell by organizing protests against the company's operations in the Ogoni tribal lands along the Niger River and in the Niger's delta. The Nigerian government promptly arrested Saro-Wiwa and his fellow activists and hanged them six months later. Not only did Shell

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conspicuously refuse to join the international campaign to save Saro-Wiwa and the eight other activists (nineteen more are still in death cells), but has been forced to admit that it armed death squads operating in the Ogoni region. At the end of October the London *Observer* reported that "in 1990 the mobile police whose nickname in Nigeria is the Kill and Go Mob killed 15 in the village of Umuechem, where Shell installations were being attacked by villagers angry at the pollution."

Shell has a particularly awful poison rap sheet. It is one of the world's leading producers of pesticides. It co-ran operations at the Rocky Mountain Arsenal, where nerve gas was produced for the Army and pesticides for the ag industry. One of the pesticides concocted there was dibromochloropropane (DBCP), the use of which was banned in the US because it causes sterility in farmworkers. Undeterred, Shell exported large amounts of DBCP to Costa Rica and Honduras, where more than 13,000 workers later claimed they had been sterilized after having coming in contact with the chemical.

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Next, glowing in the distance, is the Arco sign, emblem of the Atlantic Richfield Company. Arco is one of the big despoilers of the Alaskan tundra, where 66 per cent of Arco's domestic reserves are located. It was in 1968 that Arco tapped the largest oil deposit in North America, on Alaska's North Slope. The company's treatment of the fragile tundra has been awful, with toxic wastes dumped into 200 unlined pits dug into the tundra wetlands. Arco has been responsible for numerous spills along the Trans-Alaska pipeline. When six former employees of the Alyeska Pipeline Services Co. (the company that runs the pipeline and is co-owned by Arco, BP and Exxon), brought charges of mismanagement and illegal dumping, they were harassed, intimidated and fired. After a judge ruled that the employees were whistleblowers protected by federal law, they were offered their jobs back with financial settlements. In 1990 Arco's chemical plant in Channelview, Texas, exploded, killing 17 workers. OSHA later cited the company for 347 safety code violations at the plant. Arco settled the matter by paying a $3.5 million fine.

Arco was one of the first companies to introduce reformulated gasoline, which has caused chronic health problems in areas where it is widely used, such as Alaska. The EPA has found high levels of poisonous methyl tertiary butyl ether (MTBE) in blood samples of Anchorage residents, who complain of persistent headaches and nausea.

Now comes Chevron, from the old Rockefeller stable. It's deep into Indonesia, sharing global operations with Texaco in a company called Caltex. Among its more notorious international operations was close association with the apartheid government in South Africa, where it remained active throughout the international boycott. Chevron led the entry of oil drillers into Papua New Guinea, where Caltex's security forces murderously suppressed indigenous protests.

Inside the US, Chevron has a particularly appalling record of oil spills and toxic releases. In October of 1994 it was hit with the largest fine ever – $17 million – under the Toxic Substances Control Act, for fabricating data on the presence of toxic compounds in its detergent gasoline. Chevron called it "merely a paperwork oversight". Chevron has also repeatedly run afoul of the Clean Water Act. In 1992, the company was forced to plead guilty on 65 counts of violating the Act at its Platform Grace drilling rig in the Pacific. Chevron coughed up $6.5 million in fines and $1.5 million in civil penalties.

Chevron owns hundreds of leases to drill for oil along the Rocky Mountain front from Yellowstone National Park in Wyoming to Glacier Park in northern Montana. To protect these leases, Chevron has invested heavily in Wise Use anti-environmental campaigns in the western states.

The needle on your instrument panel is on empty. Here's a BP sign coming up. Like Arco, British Petroleum is in Alaska where its holdings yield more than half the company's annual output of crude oil. In November 1994, BP reached a $1.4 billion settlement for unpaid taxes on its North Slope oil, dating back to 1978. Its environmental record in Alaska is as bad as Arco's. In the lower 48, BP's had big violations too. For example, at a Pennsylvania refinery it incurred numerous citations for violating laws on the dumping of hazardous wastes, finally settling claims for $2.3 million. BP's record in Latin American rain forests, where it's engaged in mining and drilling operations, has been widely and deservedly excoriated. The company has worked with the Colombian military in order to ensure unimpeded access to 5 trillion cubic feet of natural gas reserves on which the company holds leases.

By now you're getting desperate. Conoco? You recollect reading that this was the place to go because the company bought double-hulled tankers to lessen risks of spills. But ask the indigenous people in Ecuador what happens before the oil is loaded on those virtuous tankers. These days Conoco is owned by DuPont. Enough said.

Sunoco? Here one of the **CounterPunch** editors is torn. On the one hand, Sunoco stations sell 94 octane gasoline, suitable for his aging fleet of Chrysler products. One the other hand, the Sun Company initiated the "cash-for-clunkers" program, as a way of diverting attention from the infinitely more baneful nitrous oxides spewing from refineries and power plants. In fact, the Sun Company was hit in 1994 with the largest fine – $1.4 million – ever handed down for violations of nitrous oxide emission laws. Anyone pon-

(Continued on p. 6)

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Is the Busines Cycle Dead?

Even as Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan jolted the markets with his public warning that stocks may be overvalued, the press was awash with exultant stories claiming that American capitalism is entering a period of unrestrained prosperity for all. *The Washington Post* had a December. 2 cover story on this theme, "U.S. Sails on Tranquil Economic Seas", which said that the economy has "entered a new period of stability in which recessions no longer seem inevitable".

To seasoned observers, the emerging consensus on the end of the business cycle can mean only one thing: a recession – perhaps only in its most incipient form – is coming and will one day strike with devastating impact. During the 1960s and the 1980s – when economic expansions of 106 and 92 months extended far beyond today's one of 68 months – economists also bid a fond farewell to recessions, only to reverse course when deep slumps shattered the rosy scenarios they'd constructed. The economist Bob Pollin remembers the late-1960s editions of Paul Samuelson's standard economics textbook quoting a government official charged with tracking the business cycle as complacently saying he'd been worked out of a job by the new recession-proof economic climate.

The *Post*'s offering was but one of a flurry of remarkably similar recent dispatches. On November 15, the *Wall Street Journal* reported that "from boardrooms to living rooms, [all agree]: The big, bad business cycle has been tamed".

The *New York Times* chimed in with a preposterous December 1 story claiming that today's good times are even better than they appear because inflation has been overestimated for the past several decades. According to Leonard Nakamura, a Federal Reserve economist, real wages are actually 35 per cent higher than they were in 1975, not 9 per cent lower as is generally accepted. Nakamura's bold thesis explains why so many Americans believe the economy is performing poorly: people see the erroneous negative numbers (such as those about wages having fallen) and believe them, thereby producing "a very distorted picture of the economy, with unfortunate effects brought about not by the economy but by our perceptions of it".

The logic of the triumphalists is based on shaky assumptions. For one, economists caution that permanent expansion depends on the absence of any "external shock", such as the OPEC price hikes of the 1970s and 1980s.

But such shocks can't be ruled out, as the near meltdown caused by the 1994 collapse of the Mexican peso demonstrated. It took $50 billion of emergency cash to stave off disaster on that occasion and the International Monetary Fund acknowledges that there are at least half a dozen major Third World countries subject to Mexico-like financial crashes.

Internal shocks are also possible as household indebtedness and personal bankrupcies are at record levels. "If people are this stressed [financially] at this point in the expansion, a recession could be very nasty," says Doug Henwood of the *Left Business Observer*.

Another trouble spot is the stock market. There's been no protracted bear market since the early 1970s. The current steep ascent is effectively a Ponzi scheme. Share prices are being pushed up by a buying frenzy based on speculative returns, not by the real earnings of the companies whose shares are being traded.

Meanwhile the middle class has been pouring money into stocks, with the result that households are exposed to a bear market as never before. The combination of record indebtedness and stock market instability is ominous.

Another fact not mentioned by the triumphalists is that the good times aren't nearly as good as they used to be. During the past 20 years, the economy has been growing at a real rate of about 2.5 per cent a year, almost one-and-a-half percentage points less than it did between 1870 and 1972. The lower rate of growth has resulted in lost output of $12 trillion – $50,000 per family over the past two decades.

The concept of "full employment" has also been revised during recent decades. In the 1960s economists said that a 3 per cent rate of unemployment was as low as the economy would tolerate without provoking inflation. That figure was revised upward to 4 per cent during the 1970s and has since crawled up to 5 per cent. In human terms, the difference between 3 and 5 per cent unemployment is roughly 2.4 million more people out of work.

The permanent prosperity theorists factor in low growth and a high "natural" rate of unemployment. The policies that this assumption assumes (especially high interest rates and tight government budgets) means, ipso facto, that wages for working people will remain stagnant. In fact, according to Dean Baker of the Economic Policy Institute, the median real wage has continued to fall throughout the current expansion. He says that if wages were to turn significantly upward, the Federal Reserve will quickly step in and create the recession that economists now say can't happen.

That brings us to the crucial point of the political nature of the business cycle. As Pollin puts it, "The business cycle is about class conflict and class claims. There are policy tools that allow for the economy to run at *real* full employment with minimal cyclical disruptions, but they aren't acceptable because they would put upward pressure on wages and squeeze corporate profit margins."

Pollin says that class claims have now shifted so far in favor of business – owing to weak unions, the rise of low-wage labor, worsening income distribution and globalization – that expansions now occur without workers gaining much ability to bargain for higher pay. But instability has emerged on another front: corporate profits are so high that capital has too much money available, resulting in a big increase in financial speculation. "The next recession will be tied to the fragility of the financial system caused by an overvalued stock market, an excessively speculative foreign exchange market and high levels of debt," Pollin says.

The rose-tinted stories in the press also give short shrift to the bottom third of the population which has not seen much benefit from the "tranquil economic seas" heralded by the *Post*. The bipartisan welfare reform plan passed by the last Congress is going to push huge numbers of people from the welfare rolls and into the low- wage job market (those who don't simply fall through the cracks, that is), with a resulting downward pressure on salaries for those at the bottom. ■

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"The Zapatistas Must Be Eliminated": An Update

Shortly after Thanksgiving, 1996, the first twenty of a planned 73 Huey helicopters were shipped in cargo planes out of Goodfellow Airforce Base in San Angelo, Texas, headed for Mexico. The Hueys are part of a weapons and reconnaissance package worth $50 million in military equipment sold, loaned or given by the Clinton administration to the Mexican armed forces. The official pretext is that the arms are for use in the drug war and to combat illegal immigration.

The true purpose harks back to an infamous recommendation, first exposed in these pages in 1994. At that time Chase Bank circulated an advisory to its clients, saying that "the Zapatistas must be eliminated". Though an embarrassed Chase disowned the very sentiment it had promulgated, the Clinton administration has seen no need to back off the urgent imperative. Any threat to the ruling elite in Mexico is by extension a threat to US interests.

Donald E. Schultz, a professor of National Security at the US Army's War College puts it this way: "A hostile government could put the US investments [in Mexico] in danger, jeopardize access to oil, produce a flood of political refugees, and economic migrants to the north. And under such circumstances the United States would feel obligated to militarize the southern border."

In fact, the southern border is in the process of being heavily militarized. Since 1988, six years before the Zapatistas rose up out of the Lacondon forest in Chiapas on New Year's Day, 1994, the Pentagon has been eager to dispatch arms and reconnaissance aircraft south of the border, using the same excuse of drug interdiction, a rationale accompanying similar ships to the Colombian military with similar results. During the Bush years, the US shipped $212 million worth of military supplies to Mexico. This figure will blossom under Clinton, who supplied – in addition to the 73 Huey helicopters – four C-26 reconnaissance planes, 500 bullet-proof armored personnel transporters, $10 million worth of night vision and C^3 equipment (command, control and communications), global positioning satellite equipment, radar, spare parts for 33 helicopters given to Mexico over the past seven years, machine guns, semi-automatic rifles, grenades, ammunition, flamethrowers, gas masks, night sticks, uniforms and rations.

Mexico's efforts to "interdict" the drug trade have most actively taken the form

Tipper's Torch Still Burns!

Tipper Gore having abandoned her role as smut monitor, the task has now been shouldered by *The Entertainment Monitor*, a Beverly Hills-based magazine. *The Monitor*, which enthusiastically endorses the V-Chip, offers a bi-monthly guide to television, film, music and the internet for parents concerned about the covert infiltration of filth into their children's lives by the entertainment industry.

Music is the *Monitor*'s strong suit. Because today's youth speak a language that is "almost impenetrable by those unfamiliar with it", the *Monitor* reviews new music and "details the slang found in each song", as well as offering "definitions and details about slang". Armed with the Monitor's youth translation service, parents are "better informed to draw [their] own conclusions" about which compact discs to destroy if found under little Johnny's pillow.

Some quotes from the *Monitor:*

"Artist: **Smashing Pumpkins**
Album: Mellon Collie and the Infinite Sadness
Themes: [A] man asks whether or not his lover will still love him if he changes; a man sings songs of love to a woman and feels silence by his vast knowledge of the world; love may kill us; love may last forever.
Language/Slang: 'lost my innocence to a no good girl' (his first sexual experience was empty), 'Mary's got some deep shit, and Mary does not forget' (suggests that Mary has a troubled past). Use of f*ck, f*ck-up (a mentally-damaged person).

"Artist: **Alanis Morisette**
Album: Jagged Little Pill
Themes: Self-exploration, anger, failure to live up to parents' expectations.
Language/Slang: 'Go down on you' (perform oral sex), 'screw it up' (to err in one's ways), 'chicken sh*t' (cowardly), '69 me' (perform mutual oral genital stimulation), ambiguous phrases such as 'my brothers, they never went blind for what they did' (may refer to masturbation).

"Artist: **Red Hot Chili Peppers**
Album: One Hot Minute
Themes: A man's friends are sad, depressed and lonely, and he tells them he loves them; a man asks someone to meet him at a coffee shop so they can be lustful and dance.
Language/Slang: Butthole Surfers (a contemporary rock band), 'asshole' (someone who is inconsiderate). From the song 'Pea' – "F*ck you asshole/you homophobic redneck dick/You're big and tough and macho/you can kick my ass/so f*cking what" (someone who is homophobic fears (and possibly hates) homosexuals irrationally).

"Artist: **Alan Jackson**
Album: The Greatest Hits Collection
Themes: A real grab-bag of Alan Jackson hits, twenty in all. Most of the themes on the album are mild in nature, with some mentioning traditional family values.
Language/Slang: 'Down yonder' (over there), 'Honky Tonk' (country barroom), 'gonna raise a holler' (complain).

"Artist: Michael Bolton
Album: Greatest Hits
Themes: Various love themes – love is about sticking together; a man asks if he can touch his lover 'there' (deep in the heart).
Language/Slang: Nothing seemingly offensive." ■

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of ruling PRI officials such as the now incarcerated Raul Salinas (charged with murder) and his brother Carlos (also under suspicion) seeking to protect their drug smuggling operations. The arms listed above have an entirely different purpose. A June 1996 report from the General Accounting Office entitled "Drug Control: Counter-narcotics Efforts in Mexico" offers evidence that the Mexican government used US arms to suppress insurgencies. "During the 1994 uprising in the Mexican state of Chiapas", the report says, "several US-provided helicopters were used to transport Mexican military personnel to the conflict, which was a violation of the transfer agreement." More than 150 peasants were killed in those operations.

The GAO placed most of the blame for this on the US government which, it suggests, connived at the misuse. "The US embassy [in Mexico City] relies heavily on bi-weekly reports submitted by the Mexican government that typically consist of a map of specific operational records – US personnel have little way of knowing if the helicopters are being properly used for counter-narcotics purposes or are being misused. Embassy officials told us that helicopter operational records have been requested and received on only one occasion in the past eight months (i.e., from November 1995 to June 1996)."

According to a May 1996 story in the Mexico City paper *La Jornada*, the US State Department assured the Zedillo regime that the arms shipments did not have to be exclusively used in anti-drug operations. The State Department informed the Mexican government that its "aviation advisors" would only inspect the location and condition of the helicopters once a year and would always give prior notice of these trips.

Over the summer the uprising by the Popular Revolutionary Army (EPR) in Guerrero state prompted James Jones, the US Ambassador to Mexico and formerly president of the New York Stock Exchange, to declare publicly at a telecommunications conference in Cancun on September 9 that the US is willing to provide increased military aid, intelligence and training to Mexico to fight the rebels. "Whatever they need", Jones said, "we will certainly support." Jones added a comparison: "The United States has much experience tracking rightwing militias, which could be of great use to Mexico. Like armed militias, [the ERP] has weapons and munitions capabilities. Terrorist groups operate much the same all over."

Both the war on drugs and the war on immigrants have become high-profile military concerns, as recent appointments on both sides of the border attest. General Barry McCaffery, formerly head of US Southern Command, is now the White House's drug czar and on December 3 President Zedillo appointed José Gutierrez Rebollo, a member of the elite presidential guard, as McCaffery's opposite number. With the support of the US State Department's International Drugs Office, Congress has asked for a million dollars in training money under the IMET program for Mexico's drug war.

The US military has also spent hundreds of millions of dollars over the past five years in increased surveillance and interdiction efforts in Mexico, according to a recently released Inspector General's report written in 1994. "Although the Pentagon has significantly expanded U.S. monitoring and detection of cocaine smugglers, this expanded capability has come with a hefty price tag and has yet to reduce the flow of cocaine onto American streets," the report concludes.

Indeed, there is plenty of evidence that the Pentagon anticipates having to intervene in Mexico sometime in the near feature. Its analysts have drafted worst-case scenarios. In 1994, a year which ended with the collapse of the Mexican currency, a Pentagon briefing paper, declassified under the Freedom of Information Act, said it was "conceivable that a deployment of US troops to Mexico would be received favorably if the Mexican government were to confront the threat of being overthrown as a result of widespread economic and social chaos. In such a scenario the intelligence and security services would probably cooperate with US intelligence forces to identify threats to Mexico's internal stability."

Or as outgoing Defense Secretary William Perry said in an October 1995 speech: "When it comes to stability and security our destinies are indissolubly linked." ■

Domino's Sales Pitch

Texaco isn't the only US corporation with a crude attitude on race. A reader recently sent us a copy of an advertisement run by Domino's Pizza of Guatemala that looks as if it might have been created by a Klansman. The ad features a cartoon rendering of a group of Amos 'n Andy-style blacks, all smiling broadly and with hair tied around a large animal bone. The text of the ad reads: "We know that you work like slaves ... and you certainly will eat like cannibals ... That's why we're making this pearl of an offer for pizza ... " ■

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(Oil companies, cont. from p. 2)

dering whether to stop at Sunoco should drive across eastern Wyoming and have the chastening experience of viewing the Sun Company's stripmines outside Gillette. The Sun Company has no female or black corporate officers. None. This is the company from which the Pew Charitable Trusts – largest funder of mainstream environmentalism – sprang.

Here comes the fragrance of the past, in the form of the Phillips 66 sign: the memory of Route 66. In the 1940s the Oklahoma-based company was actually run by a Cherokee Indian, William Keeler, aka Tsula Westa Nehi. Keeler helped Phillips make a lot of money by drilling on native lands, a practice the company has zestfully engaged in ever since. (Keeler, however, was the first and to date only minority officer of the company). Phillips stepped eagerly into Indonesia not long after Suharto and the generals were assisted by the CIA in identifying and killing upward of a million people suspected of being communists or sympathizers of the PKI. Since 1989 the company has been drilling in the Timor Gap, off the coast of East Timor.

A stop at Mobil? Some companies invest in butchering indigenous people. With its sponsorship of Masterpiece Theater Mobil has butchered entire cultures. Its Op-Eds and full-page ads led the corporate counterattack in the early 1970s. Today Mobil exploits depletion allowances and accelerated depreciation loopholes to pay fewer taxes, so you can pay more. Last year Mobil gained over $2 billion in corporate welfare through this scheme. Mobil has bilked the Treasury out of at least $200 million in unpaid royalties on oil drilled from public lands and off-shore reserves. Mobil's PAC doles out about a million dollars a year to keep things flowing in their favor.

Somewhere recently you read that Amoco might be the gas station to patronize. The company has pulled out of Burma. Maybe you missed the testy crack of Texaco's CEO, who confided to Ted Koppel that in matters of racial sensitivity "we're just the tip of the iceberg. Wait till they look at Amoco." In fact, when you look at Amoco you find that in its highest paid employees there are no women or minorities. Everyone remembers the Exxon Valdez, but who recalls the Amoco Cadiz, which spewed 120,000 tons of crude oil off the French coast, six times more than Exxon's bequest to Prince William Sound?

Some companies invest in butchering indigenous people. With *Masterpiece Theater,* Mobil has butchered entire cultures.

Your car begins to sputter just as the 76 sign looms into view, emblem of Unocal. So, are you going to take on board gasoline from a company which joyfully hailed the fanatic Taliban regime's takeover of Kabul as likely to bring a firm hand to Afghanistan? A firm hand is craved by Unocal because the company plans to run a pipeline through the afflicted nation, from Turkmenistan to the sea. Unocal is also the major player in Burma, where it is part of a consortium planning to exploit a natural gas field. To ease transportation of the gas the Burmese junta has conscripted prisoners to build a railway. Its operations in the states are no better. In 1994 Unocal was convicted on three criminal charges for failing to report massive leaks of phenol and other toxic chemicals at its Guadeloupe oil field in California. The company paid a $5.5 million fine and faces perhaps as much as $50 million in civil damages. Unocal has the lowest number of women and minorities in management of any major oil company.

Face it, there's no "good" oil company, and ethanol won't come to the moral rescue, if you've studied the recent career of Archer-Daniels-Midland. You'd better base your purchasing decision on essentially utilitarian criteria, perhaps judging the dispensing facility by standards of physical security and the nature of the bathrooms. The danger of making "moral" corporate choices was nicely exhibited by the Council on Economic Priorities, whose social profiles of the oil companies the organization kindly faxed to us. At the turn of this year the Council, amid much fanfare, took one particular oil company off its no-no list, on the grounds that the company had shown evidence of a social conscience. The company? Texaco. ■

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Correction: The two final lines from the " 'Pundits' Clouded Crystal" story in the last issue got dropped. The sentence should have ended: "...issues such as education, the environment, Medicare and Medicaid, all areas identified with traditional liberalism."

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